

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3151

INFO USMISSION USUN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 21196

NESCO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, OCON, UNESCO

SUBJECT: SOME SUGGESTED STRATEGIES FOR UNESCO GENERAL
CONFERENCE

1. ADMISSION OF ISRAEL INTO EUROPEAN REGION:

A. THE PROBLEM HERE WILL BE TO AVOID ANY MEETING OR VOTE OF THE REGIONAL GROUP. WE SHOULD WORK QUIETLY WITH THE SECRETARIATE AND OTHER WESTERN EUROPEAN MEMBERS TO AGREE ON A PROCEDURE WHICH WILL PERMIT EITHER POLLING OF THE MEMBERS OF THE GROUP OR THE SENDING OF LETTERS BY MEMBERS OF THE GROUP INDICATING THEIR PLEASURE. IN THE MEANTIME, DEPARTMENT REQUESTED GO TO KEY AFRICAN CAPITALS I.E. IVORY, COAST, SENEGAL, UPPER VOLTA, GABON, TOGO, NIGER, ZAIRE, ZAMBIA, TANZANIA, KENYA, ETHIOPIA, CHAD, MAURITANIA, MAURITIUS, LIBERIA, SIERRA LEONE, GHANA, TO MAKE US VIEWS KNOWN.

B. IN ADDITION, ALL WESTERN EUROPEAN STATES SHOULD BE
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INFORMED OF IMPORTANCE US ATTACHES TO THIS ISSUE.

PARTICULARLY, SPAIN, PORTUGAL, GREECE, MALTA, MONACO, ICELAND, IRELAND AND TURKEY SHOULD BE GIVEN SPECIAL ATTENTION AS THEIR VOTES WILL BE CRUCIAL. A DEMARCHE SHOULD ALSO BE MADE IN ASIAN STATES, PARTICULARLY JAPAN, INDIA, PAKISTAN, INDONESIA, MALAYSIA, THAILAND, BURMA, IRAN AND THE PHILIPPINES. MODERATE ARAB STATES SHOULD BE MADE AWARE OF US VIEWS, PARTICULARLY SAUDIA ARABIA, MOROCCO, EGYPT, KUWAIT, THE EMIRATES AND TUNISIA.

C. WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT THE SOVIET BLOC STATES BE APPROACHED. THEY SHOULD BE INFORMED OF THE GREAT IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THIS ISSUE AND BE REMINDED OF THE CONSEQUENCES IF ISRAEL IS NOT ADMITTED. IT MAY BE WELL TO CIRCUMVENT ANY SOVIET EFFORT TO CALL FOR A CONSENSUS FOR ADMISSION BY REMINDING THEM OF THE FACT THAT THE USSR WAS ADMITTED INTO THE ASIAN UNESCO REGION BY MUCH LESS THAN A CONSENSUS AT THE LAST GENERAL CONFERENCE, WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF JAPAN AND OVER THE STRONG OBJECTION OF CHINA. THE SOVIETS SHOULD BE REMINDED THAT IT WOULD BE INCONSISTENT FOR THEM TO NOW REQUIRE MORE OF ISRAEL. RUMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA SHOULD ALSO BE CONTACTED, PARTICULARLY YUGOSLAVIA SHOULD BE ASKED TO ABSTAIN. NOTE THAT RUMANIA ABSENTED ITSELF AT THE LAST GENERAL CONFERENCE ON THE REGIONAL VOTE.

D. ALL LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES WITH WHICH WE HAVE RELATIONS SHOULD ALSO BE CONTACTED.

E. AS TO TACTICS AT THE GENERAL CONFERENCE, EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO KEEP THE REGIONAL ISSUE AT A LOW KEY. WE SHOULD SEEK TO AVOID RAISING THE EMOTIONAL LEVEL OF THE ISSUE AND SO PREVENT STATES THAT WOULD LIKE TO BE HELPFUL FROM HAVING TO MAKE A PUBLIC CHOICE. CONSTANT CONTACT SHOULD BE MAINTAINED WITH THE DIRECTOR GENERAL WHO IS WELL AWARE OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE REGIONAL ISSUE AND NEED NOT BE FURTHER REMINDED.

2. THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

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A. THE TACTIC HERE SHOULD BE TO CONTINUE THE MODERATE TONE OF THE LAST EXECUTIVE BOARD. SPECIFICALLY, WE SHOULD SEEK TO AVOID CONDEMNATORY LANGUAGE. THIS WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT IF A UNESCO TEAM DOES NOT GO IN TO COMPILE A REPORT. IDEALLY, THE TACTIC WOULD BE FOR ISRAEL TO ADMIT THE TEAM AT THE LAST POSSIBLE MOMENT SO THAT THE DG COULD REPORT TO THE CONFERENCE THAT A TEAM HAD GONE IN, BUT WITH INSUFFICIENT TIME TO PRESENT A

REPORT. THE REPORT COULD THEN BE CARRIED OVER TO THE SPRING EXECUTIVE BOARD WHERE IT WOULD RECEIVE LESS EMOTIONAL RECEPTION. IT IS LIKELY THAT ANY REPORT, GOOD OR BAD WILL BE CONDEMNED BY THE ARABS. HOWEVER, MODERATE ARABS WILL BE ABLE TO EXERT INFLUENCE ONLY IF THEY CAN SAVE FACE BY POINTING TO SOME ISRAELI CONCESSION. THE FIRST STAGE IS NOW IN PROCESS, THAT IS TO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 PARIS 21196

ESTABLISH COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARIATE AND THE GOI. WE SHOULD WORK BEHIND THE SCENES TO FACILITATE THIS.

B. AT THE CONFERENCE, EVEN THOUGH WE WILL LIKELY VOTE AGAINST ANY RESOLUTION, OUR EFFORTS SHOULD BE ON MODERATION. AN ATTEMPT TO BLOCK ANY RESOLUTION AT ALL WILL LIKELY NOT BE SUCCESSFUL.

3. JERUSALEM - ARCHAEOLOGICAL DIGS.

A. THIS IS NOT ON THE AGENDA OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, THE 19 C/5 DOES CONTAIN A REFERENCE TO "ENSURING THE PRESENCE OF UNESCO IN JERUSALEM" IN PARA. 4060 AND AN ALLOCATION OF \$15,000 IN PARA. 4104. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD ASSUME THAT THIS ISSUE WILL BE RAISED. ACCORDING TO BOLLA IN THE SECRETARIATE, PROFESSOR LEMAIRE WILL BE VISITING JERUSALEM BEFORE THE GENERAL CONFERENCE SO IT IS LIKELY HE WILL HAVE MADE A REPORT TO THE DG. THE DG WILL DECIDE WHAT TO DO WITH THE REPORT. CONFIDENTIAL

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IF IT IS POSITIVE, I.E. THE DIGS HAVE STOPPED, A MODERATE RESOLUTION SIMPLY RE-ASSERTING UNESCO'S PRESENCE MAY RESULT.

B. WE SHOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO SEE THAT ANY RESOLUTION DOES NOT REFERENCE PREVIOUS CONDEMNATORY RESOLUTIONS, BUT STARTS ANEW, AND FOCUSES ON MAINTAINING UNESCO'S PRESENCE RATHER THAN CONDEMNING WHAT HAS BEEN DONE. IN GOING TO CAPITALS, IT WOULD BE WELL TO MENTION THAT THE US WILL NOT TOLERATE ANY FURTHER EFFORT TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS. THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH WE HOLD THIS MATTER SHOULD BE CLEARLY KNOWN BY DELEGATES BEFORE THEY ARRIVE IN NAIROBI.

4. ZIONISM REFERENCE IN THE MASS MEDIA DECLARATION.

A. THIS ISSUE WILL LIKELY BE ONE OF FORM AND PROCEDURE RATHER THAN SUBSTANCE. WE WOULD, OF COURSE, BE PREPARED ON THE SUBSTANTIVE SIDE WITH A THOROUGH ANALYSIS OF THE DECLARATION AND WITH COUNTER PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, IT IS QUITE LIKELY THAT SUBSTANCE CAN BE AVOIDED BY MOVING TO HAVE THIS ITEM DELETED FROM THE AGENDA AND REFERRED BACK TO THE EXPERTS. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT DEVELOPING FOR THIS APPROACH. THE PROPOSED GROUP OF HEADS OF DELEGATIONS WILL BE THE FORUM TO RAISE THIS ISSUE AND ARRIVE AT AN AGREEMENT TO PUT THE MATTER OFF.

B. FOCUSING THE DEBATE ON PROCEDURE RATHER THAN SUBSTANCE WILL AVOID PUTTING FRIENDLY DELEGATIONS ON THE SPOT BY FORCING A SUBSTANTIVE DEBATE.

C. IF THIS TACTIC FAILS THEN WE SHOULD MOUNT A FRONTAL ASSAULT ON THE ZIONISM REFERENCE AND MAKE IT CRYSTAL CLEAR WHAT THE CONSEQUENCES WILL BE IF THE REFERENCE IS RETAINED. BY USING MUSCLE ON THIS ISSUE WE MAY FORCE OUT OF THE FIGHT DELEGATIONS WHO WOULD OTHERWISE GO ALONG WITH A MAJORITY AND SO REDUCE THE VOTE AS TO MAKE POSSIBLE AN AGREEMENT TO DELETE THE REFERENCE IN ORDER TO SAVE THE GENERAL CONFERENCE. WE

SHOULD WORK CLOSELY WITH OUR WESTERN FRIENDS AND
PREPARE SEVERAL FALL BACK POSITIONS, INCLUDING A POSSIBLE
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REPEAT OF OUR WALK OUT IF ALL ELSE FAILS. THIS IS AN
ISSUE WHERE THE MUSCLE WILL LIKELY RECEIVE SUPPORT FROM
THE DG AND MODERATE LDC DELEGATIONS.

5. ROLE OF THE DIRECTOR GEHERAL.

M'BOW WILL BE THE CRUCIAL ELEMENT AT THE CONFERENCE AS
HE CAN SWAY THE MANY AFRICAN VOTES AND WILL HAVE A
CONSIDERABIE INFLUENCE, IF ANYONE WILL, ON THE ARABS.
THEREFORE, WE SHOULD CAREFULLY CALCULATE OUR TACTICS
VIS-A-VIS THE DG. HIS VOLATILE PERSONALITY MUST BE
TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT AND HIS PREDISPOSITION NOT TO DO
ANYTING THAT WOULD APPEAR TO BE BOWING TO OPENLY
APPLIED PRESSURE. A PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP MUST BE
ESTABLISHED WITH THE DG WHICH WILL FOCUS ON THOSE
POINTS WE DEEM REALLY IMPORTANT AND AVOID CONFLICT ON
IESS IMPORTANT OR NON-ESSENTIAL ITEMS. WE SHOULD AVOID
OPEN DISPUTES WITH THE DG ON CHANGES OF LANGUAGE WHICH
ARE ONLY marginally IMPORTANT OR RELATE TO PROGRAM
ITEMS WHICH WE CAN IIVE WITH. M'BOW IS PARTICULARLY
SENSITIVE ABOUT THE PROGRAM WHICH HE REGARDS AS HIS OWN
PERSONALLY AND ON PROGRAM ITEMS. UNLESS WE HAVE MAJOR

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 PARIS 21196

PROBLEMS AS DETERMINED BY INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE DEPARTMENT, WE SHOULD SEEK TO BE SUPPORTIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE. FOCUSING ON OUR PAST RECORD OF SINCERE CONCERN, WE SHOULD EXPRESS ESPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE LEGITIMATE NEEDS OF THE LDC'S, PARTICULARLY OF THE AFRICAN STATES. UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD WE NIT PICK HIS PROGRAM. WE SHOULD CONFINE OUR INTERVEHTIONS TO MATTERS OF REAL SUBSTANCE. WELL QUALIFIED EXPERTS ON THE DELEGATION SHOULD BE ABLE TO HANDLE THESE ISSUES WITH BACKSTOPPING FROM EXPERIENCED DEPARTMENT OFFICERS. IF M'BOW FEELS WE SUPPORT HIS BASIC PROGRAM DIRECTIONS, HE WILL BE MUCH MORE LIKELY TO WORK WITH US ON THE POLITICAL ISSUES. PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH M'BOW, AS WITH MOST AFRICAHS, WILL BE OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE.

6. NEED FOR AN OVERVIEW.

AS THE US WILL HAVE A FAIRLY LARGE DELEGATION AND WILL CALL UPON MANY GOVERNMENTAL AND PRIVATE SOURCES FOR POSITION PAPERS, IT IS WELL AT A CONFERENCE AS LARGE AS CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT OF UNESCO, TO TAKE AN OVERVIEW OF THE US POSTURE. THE TENDENCY IS FOR EACH ISSUE TO BE LOOKED AT SEPARATELY AND A POSITION DECIDED SOLELY ON THE MERITS OF THAT PARTICULAR ISSUE. THIS CAN LEAD TO A VOTING PATTERN THAT IS EXCESSIVELY NEGATIVE AND WHICH WILL ADVERSELY INFLUENCE OUR LEVERAGE ON ISSUES OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE. THEREFORE, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT A COMPOSITE BE DRAWN OF US POSITIONS BEFORE THESE ARE FINALLY FIXED AND THAT SOME FLEXIBILITY BE ALLOWED TO USE LEVERAGE ON ONE ISSUE FOR THE BENEFIT OF OTHERS. ALTHOUGH THE US EFFORT MAY BE COMPARTMENTALIZED, SMALLER DELEGATIONS WILL GENERALLY HAVE THE SAME PEOPLE SITTING ACROSS THE BOARD AND THEY WILL GET A COMPOSITE PICTURE OF THE US EFFORT. OFTEN SUPPORT IN A COMMISSION ON A RELATIVELY MINOR ISSUE IMPORTANT TO A FRIENDLY LDC CAN ELICIT SUPPORT ON THE BROADER ISSUES.

THEREFORE, THE DELEGATION MUST HAVE THE FLEXIBILITY TO
TRADE OFF WHEN NECESSARY AND ONLY BY HAVING AN OVERVIEW
CAN WE ACCURATELY ACCESS THE TOTAL EFFECT OF US POSI-
TIONS ON THE CONFERENCE.

7. FINAL CONCLUSIONS.

THESE ARE BUT A FEW OF THE POLITICAL ISSUES AND TACTICAL
PROBLEMS THAT WILL FACE US IN NAIROBI. FOR EXAMPLE,
EFFORTS TO EXPAND THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE EXECUTIVE
BOARD SHOULD BE STUDIED CAREFULLY AND OUR EFFORTS
COORDINATED WITH OTHER WESTERN STATES. WE CAN ALSO
EXPECT MEMBERSHIP PROBLEMS CONCERNING ANGOLA AND
VIET NAM. PUERTO RICO MAY SURFACE.

HOWEVER, WE CAN REASONABLY EXPECT THAT GIVEN THE SITU-
ATION OF THE CONFERENCE, A SPECIAL EFFORT WILL BE MADE BY
AFRICAN STATES TO MAKE THE CONFERENCE A SUCCESS. WE
CAN PLAY ON THIS THEME TO OUR ADVANTAGE. INTER AFRICAN
FEUDS AND DISARRAY AMONG THE ARABS MAY ALSO, IN THE
LONG RUN, PROVE SOMEWHAT HELPFUL. HOWEVER, THIS
CANNOT BE COUNTED UPON GIVEN THE NATURE OF THE ISSUES
WITH WHICH WE ATTACH IMPORTANCE. THE SOVIETS WILL CER-
TAINLY SEEK TO USE THE FORUM FOR EXPRESSING THEIR
"SOLIDARITY" WITH THE THIRD WORLD. ALTHOUGH WE SHOULD
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BE ON GUARD FOR THIS AND MUTE THEIR EFFORTS, A FOCUSING
ON DEVELOPING RELATIONSHIPS WITH FRIENDLY LDC'S MAY
PROVE MORE USEFUL IN THE LONG RUN. THIS CONFERENCE MAY
WELL BE THE FORERUNNER OF DEVELOPING A NEW MAJORITY
OF MODERATE LDC'S WHICH WILL WORK WITH US RATHER THAN
AGAINST US, IF WE CAN AVOID FORCING THEM INTO CORNERS
WHERE THEY HAVE TO PROVE THEIR THIRD WORLD MASCULINITY
BY VOTING WITH SO-CALLED AUTOMATIC MAJORITIES.
DESPITE OUR CUT OFF OF FUNDS THERE REMAINS A STRONG DE-
SIRE TO SEE THE US CONTINUE ACTIVELY IN UNESCO. IT MAY
BE EASIER TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS UNDERCURRENT OF
FEELING IN FAR OFF NAIROBI THAN IN BUSTLING, NEWS
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